1: Burrows--33 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 535 Ifalik

"Half a coconut leaf, tied about the waist over the loin-cloth, forms part of a man's costume when he is dressed to take part in a dance. For most of these ornamental kilts, freshly cut green leaf is used. A few prefer brown, withered leaves."

1: Burrows--83M (1947-48) Woleaians
535, 784 Ifalik

"Meanwhile the women began their contribution. Gathered in several groups near shore, they sang and danced their serenade, the bwarux, with beckoning motions of the hands and erotic swinging of the hips. Primarily this dance is performed by one woman for one man, her sweetheart, in the utmost privacy. The very name bwarux is not uttered by people of either sex in the presence of the other. It is only on this occasion, so far as we saw, that it is performed in chorus and in public. (One other time at a men's dance, several women sang a bwarux, by way of applause and encouragement, but did not dance it.)"

Dancing (wăluk). There are dances for men and women. All of them, with the texts, are supposed to have been brought from Yap and Mogemog. The natives have no idea about the invention of the dance. The Ifaluk people do not know how to devise texts (ewadŭlu); they only knew one man, who died before 1909, who had composed the words for a walugisăb.

a) Men's Dances (jalomăle):

1. Laulă (stick dance). It is danced in two rows, and the performers have their faces turned toward each other. The stick (gŭlugŭlu) is held by both hands in the middle. The song, which accompanies this, is relatively soft, and only rises to a crescendo at the end. The dance consists of single turns, which are distinguished by various movements and speeds; the characteristic feature is the way that the men strike the people standing beside them, and across from them with the ends of the stick. Then places are exchanged frequently, so that no dancer is in the same position, at the end of the dance, and yet he has the same partners beside him and across from him. The striking is quite complicated, and demands great skill. This dance is often performed in groups of four.

2. Kabaňăk is a dance, that is performed standing; it is rather similar to the walugisăb.

3. Walugisăb is partly a standing, partly a sitting dance.

4. Wuliál; Sarfert did not see this dance. [95]

b) Women's Dances (jalorá́wud); there is only the dá́gar, which is partly a sitting and partly a standing dance.

c) Mixed Dances (gabalíelue), in which women and men dance together; they have no particular name.

d) Children's dances and girls' dances are known; the movements are especially graceful and fine. While Sarfert was staying on the island, a youth brought some girl's dances from Lamutrik, and they were performed every evening; even women took part. Sarfert never saw boys dance alone.

2; Damm et al. --208-210 (1909) 1938 Woleaians-1-2
116, 535 Faraulep

Dances: (ŭru). The natives know the stick dance (noi ŭra), which you find nearly everywhere in the Caroline Islands, and the hand dance (huafărux). The women have a sitting dance (apĭtax); according to Hambruch, the various phases of it are:

1. a slow introduction, in the form of a choral, hand motions: closing, opening, and turning in measure according to the rhythm of the music, that is sung as an accompaniment to the song. It is in 3/4 time, but at the close it goes more rapidly, and there is a sudden pause.
2. a faster tempo and gestures which accompany a lively song.
3. like 1.
4. clapping the hands.
5. turning the head and twisting; toward the end there are gestures.
6. standing up, arranging the lines, striking the upper part of the thigh, raising the leg, shuffling the feet, turning around, then to the sides and back again, stomach dance (it is displayed in three different ways, very erotic).
7. dissolving into a dance, where there are rows, ballet style.
8. stomach dance, twisting the hips, then shuffling the feet, and toward the end there are movements of the hands, which become gradually slower.
9. coitus dance, imitation of the surrender.
10. like 6.

11. clapping the stomach with the hollow of the hand, then the breast, then a lively song, coitus dance, ballet.
12. like 11.
13. clapping, a woman chanter sings a solo, then it proceeds like 11.
14. walking forwards and backwards, then like 6, and they call: Hŏ́ka, fetắi ŭ́ra tipéĭ.
15. coitus dance, provocation, clapping the upper thigh, spreading the upper thighs apart, striking the vulva.

The dancing costume (śrŭ́p) consists of an apron with long coconut pinnates, and the men also wear combs in their hair, which are decorated with feathers and [210] leaf bands around their tufts of hair. The men's dancing sticks are simply sticks or nerves of a coconut frond.

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--256-257 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians -1-2
116, 535 Woleai

[AN: A lively crowd had gathered in front of the canoe house where dancing and singing were in full progress. ]....It was a marvellous sight...to view this column of some twenty young, well-built men who, clad in foliage-skirts and adorned with flowers on the breast and on the head, accompanied their singing now with graceful, and now with brisk motions; they often emphasized the rhythm by striking with their hands more or less loudly the parts of their bodies; each dance was terminated with a final stanza which was marked by wild yelling and clapping and which was appended with an additional "a hăka"-cry. These column-dances, many of them of an erotic nature, alternated with sitting dances and with dances with a stick (nauru). Hellwig was surprised to find here dances with a stick, since he had been told on Wolea that since the typhoon this kind of dance was not practised anymore. And here he saw not only the neatly worked dance sticks, but he witnessed also the rhythmic accuracy of beat which indicated considerable practice.... the first two sections of the dance could not be seen clearly. In the third section each one of the two groups of dancers of 8 and 10 men respectively formed two concentric circles which moved around a common point in opposite directions. This made it possible for the dancers who met after a few steps to stop and to beat stick against stick, thereby alternately turning the hands up and down: click-clack, click-clack; thus four blows sounded before the circles moved on. The fourth section was similar to the third one, but the four small circles had united into two large ones each, and the tempo had been increased, while a chorus of small boys was singing a frequently repeated text to the

accompaniment of the click-clack-rhythm... The sitting dances had an amazingly large selection of texts and movements. Immediately after the final cry "a hăka" which concluded each of the generally quite short sitting dances, one of the dancers proposed another text in a loud voice, and this proposal was instantly accepted and carried out. Two boys, 3-4 years of age, were the most fervent ones: they attended to their business ardently; they did everything more accurately and more carefully than the grown-ups, they made proposals and provided humorous incidents, for instance by singing faster toward the end and by gesticulating, so that they might come to the end eariler than the others, and this always made a very comical effect for, at the end, they always sang at the top of their shrill voices. [257] The evening before, Hellwig and especially the old people had been diverted by these two droll youngsters who had entertained them with solos and duets.... Another specialty was offered by seven little girls. They had seated themselves behind the column of dancers and at first they accompanied several pantomimes with their clear and loud voices, afterwards they accompanied motion-dances during which the dancers jumped and turned so briskly that they were dripping with perspiration. Later on, during the sitting dances, they seated themselves at the side of the row of dancers and were able to bring a wonderful contrast and yet harmony into the tone-color (timbre) in a manner which cannot be described. Around midnight the spectacle was over.

4: Krämer--121 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 535 Lamotrek

Cantova, on page 315, tells us something about the dances of the West Carolinians, e.g., that the chief holds up a beautiful mat at the end of the performance which becomes the property of the person who manages to seize it first.

Müller, in Yap, page 309 says that Lugëlëng is tamë rang ko toru, the dancing sorcerer of heaven; the situation is similar on Lamotrek...

The word for dancing rod is gurrugurru, Wood, songo; knob, olále; piece by which it is hung up, tawólo.

4: Krämer--270 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 535 Woleai

(Kotzebue: waruk; dance in a circle, walebong; others kapangach). There are dances in sitting positions for women and standing dances.

6: Senfft--56
116, 535, 527

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

The festivities of the natives consist of banquets and dances. The dances are very beautiful; there is a great deal of variation in the patterns and both the composition and the presentation are perfect. Most of the dances are held in cool nights. The motions of the dance are accompanied by singing and by clapping the hands. There are no musical instruments.

11: Born--189 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 533, 535 Woleai

The development of art among the Oleaï natives is on a very low level. I saw no musical instruments of any kind. There is said to be a kind of jew's harp for children, consisting of a single string which is plucked to produce different notes.

The dancing songs of the natives here are, if possible, even more monotonous and lacking in melody than those of the Jap natives. The dances, baruk, are more rapid and lively. Here, too, clapping the hands and beating the thighs and armpits are the chief movements of the dance. In some dances the performers produce a peculiar sound by puffing out their cheeks and snapping their index fingers against them.

28: Spiro--70-71
116, 755, 535, 292

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"Shortly after this ceremony, Arogeligar announced a forthcoming medicine-dance. Tilitr had possessed him and informed him that a medicine dance should be held, for if it were not, illness would descend on the people. After a two week preparation the dance was held on October 9. Like the other religious ceremonies devoted to health, this one has a dual function; it serves to protect the healthy from disease, and it has therapeutic effect on those who are ill. The dance was held at Bwuter Tilitr, on Falalap, and the people were decorously dressed with flower wreaths, painted faces, and headdresses of cotton batton in which were fastened white chicken feathers. The dance was in two parts, one of the men, and one of the women. In either case, the dancers sat in a row facing the onlookers.

The men assumed quasi-feminine garb for this occasion. They wore skirts made of coconut branches, over their loin cloths, and they wore the shell belts worn by the women. Arogeligar, of course, was in charge of this dance, whose participants--young men and boys--had been practicing almost two weeks.

The dance is performed sitting, the dancers accompanying themselves with songs. The dance involves only the movement of the arms and of the torso, in which the arms are extended in front of the body at face level, the hands are weaved and saved, then the arms are flexed and the hands gesture towards the body in an enfolding movement, culminating in a clapping of the biceps as arms corss. Both the men's and women's dances were

the same, the women taking over when the men finished.

An interesting sidelight in both dances was the little 'game' played by Wolpatau, the first ranking chief. He walked behind the dancers cigarettes in hand, and held [71] some cigarettes over the head of a dancer while blowing his whistle. Any member of the dancer's lineage could seize the cigarettes from his hand. This produced much laughter and excitement, which contrasted with the seriousness of the dance and its serious intent.

When the dancing was completed, the usual distribution of coconuts by household [sic] followed. Following the consumption of the coconuts, Taroman presented Tilitr with a new lavalava, which was placed on the shrine. Speeches by Arogeligar, Taroman, and Wolptau followed, all stressing the same points, to obey the chiefs and to be good. The chiefs then distributed their tobacco to the people, again by households.

On a whole the ceremony gave the impression of lethargy. It seemed to lack energy, interest, or vitality. The men showed greater animation than the women, but they had the volatile Arogeligar to provide them with stimulus."

"We have already described the dancing performed at the medicine-dance in our discussion of religion. There is another dance, the Ur, which is also a religious dance, which is performed standing, and is not performed as part of a ceremony. Its purpose is unknown, as the natives say it was borrowed from Ulithi and Woleae.

We witnessed this dance at the request of Dr. Burrows. At one of the public meetings, the chiefs announced that an Ur was to be held in the not-too-distant future, and that the men should begin rehearsing for it. The rehearsals took place every night for at least two weeks before the dance. Each district held its own rehearsals, and at the formal dance itself, they danced by districts. Each district has at least one man that is recognized as an especially good choreagrapher, or as knowing the dances especially well, and it was he who led the rehearsals.

As in the medicine-dance, the men wore skirts of coconut leaves while dancing, and here, also, the same reason was given for this practice-- 'from before, before.' (musuwe, musuwe). Only the young and middle-aged men took part in the dances, since some of the movements are strenuous, and an older man could not last long in the pace. I shall make no attempt to describe the dance, since Dr. Burrows is making a special study of this, as well as the other arts, except to tell its general nature. The men stand in a row, facing the audience, though there are movements which require them to kneel.

But even the standing dances, involve no mobility, all the foot movement being a kind of intricate pivoting, and a simultaneous movement of body and arms. The men themselves sing a vocal accompaniment to their dancing.

The rehearsals are great fun for the participants as well as for the 'galery.' [79] They are held in front of the main canoe houses in all three districts, and the women and children, as well as the older men, assemble to watch the dances, praising, or criticising a dance or dancer, as the case might be, or making wisecracks. The young girls are kept busy tending the fire, since the coconut branch fuel is consumed rapidly."

28: Spiro--79 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 535, 152, 183 Ifalik

"Towards the end of the rehearsal period the dances would assume the character of dress rehearsals, the men being highly decorated and ornamented, as they later were at the dance. On these dress rehearsals, a strange and interesting custom took place. The women would prepare marmar, and certain women would be designated to present the marmar to the men while they were dancing. The chosen women would appear, their entire bodies and heads being covered with cloths and blankets, so that their identity was not disclosed, and while the dance was in process, they would walk behind the dancers, and place marmars on their heads or necks. They would then disappear, so that the men did not know who they were. The reason for this custom is unknown. (35)"

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"35. When I asked Tom for the reason, he replied that if the identity of the women were known, a woman who gave a wreath to some man would arouse her husband's anger or jealousy. This was specious reasoning, however, since all the men receive wreaths during the course of the evening, so that no favoritism is displayed. In other words, here, as in so many other occasions, we reached a point in explanation, where traditional explanations were really lacking, and gave way to personal speculation, as Malinowski has pointed out. When I pointed this out to Tom, he fell back to the well-worked musuwe, musuwe.[WPM: From before, from before]"

28: Spiro--79 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 535 Ifalik

"When the chiefs were satisfied that the dancers were adequately prepared, they announced that the women should prepare food the next day, and on the following day the dance would be held. The dance [WPM: The Ur, see pp. 77-78] was held in Rauau by the central canoe house. The dancers were dressed very elaborately. They wore the coconut leaf skirts, of course, as well as the women's belts. Their faces were painted, ankles and arms were decorated with coconut strips,' and around the necks were coconut leaf necklaces. A ball of cotton was attached to their hair combs, and in the cotton were inserted two white chicken feathers. The entire body was smeared with turmeric. The only two colors used were red and white, though there are other colors available. Certain individuals added other decorations of a personal nature, which included anything gaudy or garish they might have possessed.

The Felarik men danced first, followed by the Rauau men. After the dance, the food which was brought by each household was distributed by the chiefs, as was tobacco that the chiefs had contributed. (36)"

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"36. As usual, we contributed beef, tobacco, and perfume."

28: Spiro--79-80 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 535 Ifalik

"Another dance is the laura dance that is performed with bamboo sticks, though the scarcity of bamboo on Ifaluk dictates the use of sticks of any hard wood. This, too, was performed at the request of Dr. Burrows, but unlike the ur, was performed without rehearsal, and has no religious significance. It is a young-man's dance, and the one we witnessed was performed only by the young men of Rauau and, Falalap, those of Felarik not participating. The la-ura is performed in a standing position, again to the accompaniment of their own singing. The men stand in two rows, each having a partner, and strike their poles against the poles of their partners in complicated gestures, while moving their feet and bodies in the patterned formations. [80]

The la-ura was performed very informally, and without any great interest. Neither the observers nor the dancers seemed to display any real enthousiasm, and the dancing began before the arrival of the chiefs, something which is never done for something important. After the dance, coconuts and tobacco were distributed as usual."

28: Spiro--113 [2]
116, 858, 535, 868

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Though the children are passive participants in almost all aspects of the culture, they do not become active participants until they can engage in the activity with some degree of competence. One of the first activities in which they engage is the dance. Boys and girls attend the dance rehearsals with their parents, and not only observe the dancers, but imitate them. The small tots are encouraged by the women to imitate the men dancers and they even actively induce them into the dance by guiding their arm and leg movement in the proper fashion. The boys, from about four or five years of age and up, participate in the dance itself, they are bedecked ornamentally as the men, and though their participation is not important for the performance, it does afford them an opportunity to engage in an adult activity. This means, of course, that it is unnecessary to teach the growing children the dance, because they first learn it by imitation and by actual participation as children, so that by the time they are ready to take their places as full-fledged members, they have mastered the technique."

28: Spiro--117 [3]
116, 535, 864, 522

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Another form of sexual activity is the children's imitation of the bwarux dance, the sexual dance which a girl performs for her lover. Usually an older person would rebuke them and force them to stop. But in the case of the very young children, the women would not only encourage them, but even instruct them in the motions, and would then go into peals of laughter."

28: Spiro--123
116, 832, 535

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Sexual behavior of sweethearts and of married couples is the same. Often, both man and woman will bathe and annoint themselves with coconut oil, use perfume, and generally beautify themselves. As a prelude to love making, the woman may perform a bwarux, for her sweetheart or husband. The bwarux is a combined love song and dance, the lyrics of the song being composed by women only."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk



only source of supply, since no trade ship had visited the island for some months.

The captain went ashore on the final trip of the ship's launch. Most of the local population was assembled on the temple grass by the Fan Nap, all decked out with garlands in the hair and wreaths over the shoulders. I introduced the captain to Fagolier. It was a pleasure to watch the chief on such an occasion. He didn't need clothing for dignity: composed and calm, he always seemed pleased to meet the visitors, murmuring the correct phrases in Ifalukian, with no hint of the naked savage meeting civilization. Rather, the overdressed foreigners seemed awkward and out of place.

The captain photographed everyone, called in the sailors who had been wandering around, and took off. We all went down to the beach to see them go, but unhaunted by any desire to be going along. Don, of course, was terribly pleased to get his missing equipment: and I should have been pleased too, since I came to depend on that equipment for the rest of the summer.

That evening there was dancing. Ted thought at first that it was the children, but it turned out to be the young men, lined up by a bonfire, practicing for some big event that they planned presently. I popped flashbulbs at the dancers and Don and Ted watched, while the mosquitoes drained their blood away—another flaw in paradise. The scene was wild and lovely, the dark backdrop of the coconut palms fitfully lit up by the fire, the row of naked bodies trimmed with flowers and anklets and bracelets of coconut leaves, the inflected chanting, the stomping, clapping and rhythmic movement. Don learned pretty well to get the nice resonance that they produced by clapping the cupped right hand against the inside of the bent left arm.

Don got sore at me for popping flashbulbs—he said it spoiled the atmosphere, was an insult to the Ifalukians, and so forth. I suppose I felt sheepish about intruding with a camera myself—but I had thought I was doing my duty in getting a photographic record. Anyway, I took off with my camera in a huff and kept a residuum of photographic inhibition all of the rest of the summer. The camera is a curious thing that way—it takes gall or cheek or impertinence to get good pictures

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk



226 semicircle out from the shore and back again. Then men on shore started hauling in the seine, moving slowly along the beach to close the circle, a process that lasted from midmorning to midafternoon. Men in canoes were constantly guiding the movement of the seine and as the circle narrowed in shallow water, men with great dip nets stationed themselves along the seine at regular intervals to catch the fish that were frantically leaping out from the milling horde within. Finally, as with rop fishing, the imprisoned fish were driven into traps which were emptied into canoes, to be taken back to the Fan Nap [592] where Toroman, as always, supervised the division of the catch by households.

But the photographing of the yating fishing took place late in the summer. We had only been on the island a couple of weeks when we took part in the rop fishing expedition off the reef and we were full of wonderment about everything that went on about us.

535 571 The evening after the rop fishing there was dance practice again. It was going on every evening and I began to develop a theory that daily dancing was a basic element giving cohesiveness to the island's social structure. It seemed to combine the functions of amateur dramatics (participating in activities) and going to the movies (spectator entertainment). In this case the same people were at one time participants and at another time spectators. Even the kids formed their [857] dance groups, clapping and stomping and chanting in shrill, enthusiastic voices—usually in the early evening, before the adult sessions started. (My theory was all right, I think, except that dancing was an intermittent rather than a continuing activity, since there were long danceless periods between the proper ceremonial occasions.)

535 292 Even for these practice sessions, the people generally got pretty much dressed up, the men at least wearing garlands of flowers on their heads and coconut-leaf skirts over their loin-cloths. The men of Ifaluk, of course, tended to be the gaudier sex. This may be "natural" not only for man but for animals in general, Western civilization being out of step in this regard. Even in the West it hasn't been so long since the days of bright, embroidered waistcoats, and Hawaiian shirts seem to be spreading now in certain parts of the United States.

000 At any rate, Ted thought it was time for a present when Bakal

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk



123 my necklace every third day, when it came my turn. Presently they were given necklaces, too, and then we could all be properly ornamented all the time!

123 177 Don kept on with the regular English lessons. He wrote a journal entry about one evening when Yani had brought a simple English reader from the school supplies and wanted to know the meanings of some of the words—believe, would, parade, party (that was easy), Halloween, conversation, as, think, exactly. Don felt he did nicely—all his teaching instincts came to the fore. He consulted me once or twice, but this obviously would lead only to an argument that would leave the English lesson suspended indefinitely—"exactly" was perfect for an Abbott-Bates argument. Its meaning could hardly be touched on without previous exploration of the nature of reality and the perceptions of the observer, and once this was started, "exactly" could never be reached again. So Yani got only the Abbott interpretations of meaning.

181 There seemed to be little trouble about the explanations, and this set Don to thinking about the nature of "savages." According to Ted, these people of Ifaluk had had the least contact with the West of any of the Pacific islanders—only the people of central New Guinea being comparable. Thus, by common Western standards, they would be classed as "savages"—in fact, as "naked savages." Yet, Don argued, these are really highly sophisticated people, so startlingly like Westerners that it was sometimes hard to remember that there were any differences at all. He was particularly impressed by their sense of humor, which [599] seemed to differ not at all from his own. They laughed at his jokes when they understood them, as he did at theirs. Humor that didn't cross the cultural barrier seemed to be associated either with the double meanings of language, or with cultural traits that were not shared. Don wrote these impressions in his journal—from which I am cribbing.

535 533 After the English session, we all went to watch dancing on Falalap. We took the BWUP and rowed over in the dark, settling down under the palms near a fire of dry coconut leaves. The women were sitting in a line, making slow movements of arms, torso and head to the pace of a slow, low-pitched song that mostly hung on one note, but oc-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk



casionally rose or dropped over a scale of about three notes. There, in the light of a fire that flared to brightness and sank down almost to darkness as fuel was added or used up, with a row of bare-breasted women singing the pleasant but monotonous dirge-like song, with slow, almost caressingly sensual movements of the hands and arms, Don was overcome again with a feeling of unreality, of the cultural gulf that separated him from them.

But again he thought, this is trivial. The only real barrier is language, and that can be overcome. It was, in fact, already lessening. Just that day, he had been able to explain to a man who brought a wooden bowl to the Fan Nap that Ted was asleep, to tell the man to come back later in the evening, and to ask him whether he wanted tobacco or money for the bowl, and how much. It was a great triumph in communication.

The gulf between California and Ifaluk could be bridged.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk



imagination. But his poise, his dignity, seemed to have a very real quality, completely independent of the trappings of position or pretence.

I remember the evening early in our stay when he stopped by the Fan Nap just as we were starting our dinner of spam, canned sweet potatoes and canned string beans. We asked him to join us, which he did with apparent pleasure, even making noises of appreciation over the string beans—the equivalent in my own household, over new food, of "how interesting." When we were finished he went off with his plate, cup and silver and washed it and started to try to wash a pot! It was like the thoughtful guest back home who insists on helping with the dishes; somehow, as real a gesture of courtesy as I have ever seen.

The next day, when I went to photograph progress on the canoe that was being built in the Falepenach canoe house, I found Fagolier working away with an adze on a plank, the efficient artisan. Usually he was right in the middle of any work in progress, carrying his full load.

He was always the thoughtful host. Everyone on the island was always a thoughtful host—but Fagolier, as chief, along with Maroligar, number two chief and proprietor of the particular spot where the Fan Nap stood, were especially attentive. I noted my impression in my diary one morning when Fagolier brought us fresh coconuts. He came with two handsome boys bearing the nuts, for all the world like two pages attending a prince. The pages placed the coconuts as directed by a wave of the hand, and during the ensuing period of polite silence, they sat quietly and respectfully in the background, so that the feeling of court was maintained.

I watched him directing a dance rehearsal one night. Don was involved with Yani's English and Ted with something else, and when Fagolier and Maroligar left the Fan Nap after their usual check on our comfort, they obviously expected me, at loose ends, to come along with them. When we got to the fire, they seemed to expect me to join the line of dancing men. So—away from the eyes of my fellow Westerners—I did.

Certainly I was very awkward and shortly I abandoned the attempt,

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk



123 but I was glad I tried because it gave me a direct experience with
535 Fagolier as dance director. He squatted by the fire and the line of
643 men formed opposite him against the dark backdrop of the coconut grove. To get some glimmering of what to do, I had to watch both Fagolier and the men in the line beside me, and I gradually got the feel of the situation. The dance involved a series of gestures with both hands, and of vocal sounds that varied from hums to shouts but that did not seem to form word patterns. Fagolier directed this with a remarkable economy of gesture, the indications of his hands being translated into full scale action by the men opposite. He was acting as leader and coordinator—again quietly, skillfully and economically.

121 These thoughts about Fagolier were precipitated the morning that Don started his food study of the Falepenach household. Don was resolved to be as exact about this as possible. It is very difficult to get precise figures on what people eat under any circumstances (think of the problem of measuring everything scraped off the plate into the garbage can, or of finding out whether Johnny got into the cookie jar this morning, and how many cookies he snitched). But, Don reasoned, the greater effort you made to be precise, the nearer you were likely to come to truth in your measurements. So, with the complete and invaluable assistance of Yani, he started out to measure everything eaten in Yani's household, Falepenach, for a month.

125 It developed at once that I was about as helpful as a sore thumb
[262] in this process. That first morning Don and Yani weighed all of the breadfruit and all of the coconuts brought in for the day's use. Then, to get a measure of the difference between crude and finished product, they waited around while the breadfruit and coconut were being prepared for cooking. Clearly I wasn't needed for either the weighing or waiting processes, so I drifted off to sit down by Fagolier and contemplate the horizon. Don, in the meanwhile, found (among other things) that twenty husked, ripe coconuts, weighing 27 lbs. 5 oz. produced 11 lbs. 13 oz. of copra ready for use in that day's cooking operations in Falepenach.

121 We had been talking about the problems of the food study from the
262 beginning. A careful study of what people ate, how much, how they got it, how it served them nutritionally, was clearly basic to any at-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

CHAPTER VI

# FISH WATCHING

DANCE rehearsals continued almost every night, and it was clear that we were expected to attend despite the interference with both work and sleep. Somehow I didn't understand until some time later that this dance business was largely a response to a request of Ted's. He had particularly wanted, during his first stay on the island, to see some of the important traditional dances, the ur dances, but no such ceremonies had taken place. Before we started for Ifaluk this time, Ted had written to the anthropologist of the Trust Territory Government, expressing the hope that we would be there in the proper season for the dances. The anthropologist had passed the word on to the chiefs by way of the trade ship which called at the island about a month before we arrived.

It turned out that we were too late. The proper time for the ur dances is at the close of the period of ceremonial fishing by torchlight for flying fish. But the Ifalukians, wishing to please Ted, rearranged their ceremonial schedule. They couldn't bring the flying fish out of season, but they could perform the dances.

The dances were really, as Ted explained, a religious ceremonial designed to please the gods. But, as Ted further noted, this did not mean that the content had to take some special religious form: the kindly gods of Ifaluk enjoyed whatever interested the people.

Religion seemed in general very unobtrusive on Ifaluk. There were sacred spots like the altar in the back of the Fan Nap (completely unused during our stay); there was the wild tangle of vegetation in sacred